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Identical letters dated 24 March 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 23 March 2002 from Mr. Naji Sabri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq. The Minister calls attention to the ongoing wanton aggression against Iraq by United States and British aircraft in the unlawful no-flight zones and to the fact that in the period from 16 February to 15 March 2002 they carried out 306 hostile sorties, 70 of them from Saudi Arabia, 126 from Kuwait and 110 from Turkey, as shown in the statement enclosed with the letter. On 28 February 2002, United States and British aircraft bombed civilian and military sites in Ninawa governorate, wounding three citizens and damaging some civilian and military installations.

The Minister reaffirms the Government of Iraq's condemnation of these acts of aggression against Iraqi territory, and he states that full international responsibility for them must be borne by the United States, the United Kingdom and the countries that provide the logistic support for this aggression, namely Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Turkey. He further states that Iraq reserves its right, as established by the Charter of the United Nations and international law, to defend itself against this ongoing hostile, terrorist activity. He urges you to perform the duties assigned to you under the Charter by ensuring that this persistent aggression is halted and does not recur and that its perpetrators and the regional parties that associate themselves with it are made to bear full legal responsibility for it.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(*Signed*) Mohammed A. **Aldouri**
Permanent Representative

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Identical letters dated 24 March 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council

I should like to inform you that the United States of America and the United Kingdom have continued their aerial aggression against the Republic of Iraq. United States and British warplanes based in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Turkey have thus continued to violate Iraq's airspace. They flew 306 armed sorties in the period from 16 February to 15 March 2002, 70 of them from Saudi Arabia, 126 from Kuwait and 110 from Turkey, as shown in the statement enclosed herewith. On 28 February 2002, United States and British aircraft bombed civilian and military sites in Ninawa governorate, wounding three citizens and damaging some civilian and military installations.

The enforcement by the United States and the United Kingdom of no-flight zones in northern and southern Iraq is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the established norms of international law and the Security Council resolutions urging States to respect Iraq's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence, and it constitutes ongoing armed aggression against Iraq. The international community has condemned the maintenance of the no-flight zones as representing an illegal use of force against an independent State. The United Nations has also done so, as exemplified by the statement of the Secretary-General at his press conference of 19 December 2001, when he said (press release SG/SM/8081):

> "[I indicated that] ... I did not see anything in the Security Council resolution that authorizes the imposition or the enforcement of a no-flight zone. But several countries have decided to do it ...".

The attacks being launched by United States and British aircraft on Iraqi towns and villages and on structures that are basic to life in the country, including health-care and educational establishments and houses of worship, constitute blatant and continuing State terrorism and gross interference in the internal affairs of Iraq. When the 30-nation aggression of 1991 failed to break the will of Iraqis or to impair their freedom and independence, the United States and the United Kingdom proceeded to take the unilateral decision to impose the no-flight zones, first in northern Iraq on 7 April 1991 and then in southern Iraq on 27 August 1992, and they used armed force to attack Iraqi civilian and military installations with a view to undermining Iraq's stability and endangering the lives of its people. The maintenance of these zones and the use of force in them therefore represent a violation of the principle of non-use of force as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and are in breach of the Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq, all of which affirm that Iraq's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected. Since the no-flight zones were first imposed, there have been 211,154 violations by United States and British aircraft, including violations in which military and civilian sites have been bombed and destroyed, and 1,476 people have been killed and more than 1,320 injured.

Although the entire world has condemned this aggression and despite the letters we address to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council providing details of these acts of terrorist aggression, the United States continues to proclaim its contempt for the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of

the Security Council, and the Security Council has taken no action with regard to this terrorist aggression being committed by the United States and the United Kingdom. This raises serious questions about the credibility of the United Nations and the Security Council and about their capacity to apply the norms of the Charter to all without distinction and without the use of double standards or to safeguard international peace and security and halt the acts of aggression and intimidation of two of the permanent members of the Council that endanger the same international peace and security.

The Government of Iraq considers that the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom and the countries that provide the facilities for this terrorist aggression should bear full responsibility for these hostile acts. It affirms Iraq's established entitlement under the Charter of the United Nations and international law to exercise its legitimate right to defend itself against this ongoing hostile, terrorist activity. It further expresses the hope that you will perform the duties assigned to you as they relate to the maintenance of international peace and security, that you will call upon the governments of the countries in question to halt their continuing aggression against Iraq forthwith and that you will ensure that those committing the aggression and the regional parties that are facilitating its continuation are made to bear full legal responsibility for it.

(*Signed*) Naji **Sabri**
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Enclosure

Violations of the airspace of the Republic of Iraq by United States and British warplanes, 16 February-15 March 2002

I. Northern region

In the northern region 110 armed sorties were flown at speeds of 720 to 780 kilometres per hour and at altitudes of 6,000 to 12,000 metres, as follows:

1. At 1220 hours on 18 February 2002, United States and British F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Aqrah, Rawanduz, Dohuk, Irbil and Baibo areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1500 hours, drove them off.

2. At 1320 hours on 20 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Baibo, Dohuk, Ayn Zalah, Aqrah, Irbil and Rawanduz areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1620 hours, drove them off.

3. At 1145 hours on 27 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 14 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Zakho, Amadiyah, Aqrah, Baibo, Rawanduz and Ayn Sifni areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1450 hours, drove them off.

4. At 1200 hours on 28 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Aqrah, Dohuk, Ayn Zalah, Baibo and Zakho areas. They fired missiles at civilian and military sites in Ninawa governorate, wounding three citizens and damaging some civilian and military installations. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1450 hours, drove them off.

5. At 1045 hours on 3 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Aqrah, Dohuk, Mosul, Dokan, Irbil, Rawanduz and Zakho areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1315 hours, drove them off.

6. At 1245 hours on 4 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 10 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Dokan, Aqrah, Dohuk, Irbil, Rawanduz and Zakho areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1545 hours, drove them off.

7. At 1230 hours on 6 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Dokan, Dohuk, Ayn Zalah, Tall Afar, Rawanduz and Zakho areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1600 hours, drove them off.

8. At 1330 hours on 11 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 14 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Aqrah, Dohuk, Rawanduz, Irbil, Zakho, Ayn Sifni, Baibo and Mosul areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1600 hours, drove them off.

9. At 1215 hours on 15 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Turkey and from Turkish airspace penetrated Iraq's airspace in the northern region. They carried out 12 armed sorties, were supported by an AWACS aircraft operating inside Turkish airspace and overflew the Amadiyah, Aqrah, Dohuk, Irbil, Zakho, Baibo, Mosul, Rawanduz, Dokan and Ayn Zalah areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1445 hours, drove them off.

II. Southern region

In the southern region 196 armed sorties were flown at speeds of 720 to 780 kilometres per hour and at altitudes of 9,000 to 13,000 metres, as follows:

1. At 1200 hours on 16 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 26 armed sorties, 12 of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and 14 from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Busayyah, Nukhayb, Jalibah, Suq al-Shuyukh and Artawi areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1340 hours, drove them off.

2. At 1345 hours on 17 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and

from Saudi and Kuwaiti airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 25 armed sorties, eight of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and 17 from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Basrah, Samawah, Jalibah, Busayyah, Nukhayb and Artawi areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1545 hours, drove them off.

3. At 1000 hours on 21 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15 and F-16 aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Saudi and Kuwaiti airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 24 armed sorties from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace. They overflew the Basrah, Nasiriyah, Jalibah, Busayyah, Lasaf, Salman and Ashbajah areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1130 hours, drove them off.

4. At 1340 hours on 22 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 34 armed sorties, eight of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and 26 from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Artawi, Ma'aniyah, Jalibah, Salman, Nasiriyah and Busayyah areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1500 hours, drove them off.

5. At 1220 hours on 26 February 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 16 armed sorties, 12 of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and four from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Busayyah, Salman, Shinafiyah, Ashbajah and Jalibah areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1345 hours, drove them off.

6. At 1450 hours on 1 March 2002, United States and British F-14 and F-15 aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 19 armed sorties, 10 of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and nine from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Basrah, Suq al-Shuyukh, Busayyah, Jalibah,

Nukhayb, Ashbajah and Artawi areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1635 hours, drove them off.

7. At 0930 hours on 5 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15 and F-16 aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out eight armed sorties from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Busayyah, Suq al-Shuyukh and Salman areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1200 hours, drove them off.

8. At 1255 hours on 13 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 28 armed sorties, 12 of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and 16 from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Lasaf, Samawah, Ashbajah, Busayyah, Jalibah and Salman areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1500 hours, drove them off.

9. At 1208 hours on 15 March 2002, United States and British F-14, F-15, F-16, F-18, Tornado and EA-6B aircraft coming from bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and from Kuwaiti and Saudi airspace and territorial waters penetrated Iraq's airspace in the southern region. They carried out 16 armed sorties, eight of them from Saudi territory with the support of an AWACS command and control aircraft operating inside Saudi airspace and eight from Kuwaiti territory and by way of the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait with the support of an E-2C command and control aircraft operating inside Kuwaiti airspace. They overflew the Busayyah, Artawi, Lasaf, Salman and Ashbajah areas. Our air defences, acting in exercise of the legitimate right to defend the homeland, engaged the aircraft and, at 1330 hours, drove them off.